

Message Text

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SUBJECT: EL PAIS COMMENTS ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

1. THE FOLLOWING EDITORIAL APPEARED IN THE FEBRUARY 25 EDITION
OF EL PAIS, URUGUAY'S LARGEST CIRCULATION DIALY.

2. "KSSINGER AND THE THIRD CENTURY."

BEFORE BEGINNING HIS TOUR OF LATIN AMERICA, SECRETARY OF STATE
KISSINGER GAVE A SPEECH IN LARAMIE. IT WAS REALISTIC AND CLEAR,
AS ARE ALL OF HIS SPEECHES. HE DEMONSTRATED HIS UNDERSTANDING HIS-
TORY AND POLICTCAL PHILOSOPHY AND MADE PENETRATING OBSERVATIONS
DERIVED FROM HIS PROFOUND DIPLOMATIC EXPERIENCE.

3. ONLY THIS TIME KISSINGER AIMED HIS HEAVIEST GUNS AGAINST THE
UNITED STATES CONGRESS BECAUSE HE UNDERSTANDS THAT IT IS DIRECTLY
RESPONSBILE FOR THE FACT THAT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY LACKS COHERENCE,
CONTINUITY, AUDACITY, AND INITIATIVE.

4. "WE ARE TALKING OF A SPEECH IN WHICH, TRAVELLING THE ROAD OF
REALISM, AND CRITICALLY EXAMINING THE PRESENT SITUATION, HE
ARRIVES AT THE CONCLUSION THAT 'EACH BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT MUST
RESPECT THE ROLE OF THE OTHERS (CONGRESS AND PRESIDENT) AND EACH
MUST RECOGNIZE ITS LIMITATIONS' WHICH IS AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE
TO THE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES CREATED BY THE ALL-POWERFUL U.S.

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LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

5. "CONSCIOUS OF THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH A HISTORIC PROCESS HAS GIVEN TO THE UNITED STATES--'AMONG THE FREE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WE ARE THE ONLY ONE CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING A WORLD BALANCE IN THE FACE OF THOSE WHO ARE LOOKING FOR HEGEMONY'--KISSINGER BELIEVES THAT THE GREATEST DANGER THAT FACES HIS COUNTRY IS INTERNAL DIVISION.

6. "THINGS WHICH SHOULD REMAIN BEHIND CLOSED DOORS ARE DEBATED IN PUBLIC, INSTITUTIONS ARE ATTACKED, SERIOUS INTERFERENCES IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY ARE PRODUCED, SENSATIONAL AND DEMORALIZING INVESTIGATIONS WRECK LONG AND PATIENT YEARS OF WORK. WHILE ALL OF THIS OCCURS, AND NOBODY PUTS AN END TO IT, THE UNITED STATES IS SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED ITS CAPACITY TO PURSUE ITS ROLE AS A WORLD LEADER, AND THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE WEAKENING IN ITS POWER TO RAPIDLY AND EFFICIENTLY RESPOND TO THE CONTINGENCIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

7 "IT REFUSES TO GIVE MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, A STRATEGIC COUNTRY OF NATO BECAUSE THAT COUNTRY USED U.S. ARMS IN CYPRUS, CHILE WAS ALSO DENIED MILITARY AID BECAUSE IT COMMITTED THE CRIME OF OVERTHROWING ALLENDE. IT LEFT THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCES IN ANGOLA ALONE (WHICH PROVOKED THE PULLOUT OF SOUTH AFRICA) FOR FEAR OF A NEW VIETNAM.

8. "ONE CAN UNDERSTAND, THEREFORE, WHY IN LATIN AMERICA THE FOLLOWING WORDS OF KISSINGER WERE GREETED WITH SO MUCH SKEPTICISM: 'LET NO NATION BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO REMAIN INDIFFERENT FOR VERY LONG TO THE DISPATCH OF EXPEDITIONARY FORCES AND GREAT QUANTITIES OF MATERIAL IN ORDER TO IMPOSE MILITARY GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THESE EXPEDITIONARY FORCES COME FROM A WESTERN HEMISPHERE NATION'.

9. "IT IS A PROMISE, EVEN A THREAT; BUT, ANGOLA HAS ALREADY BEEN LOST, AND NO ONE CAN PREDICT THE FUTURE OF THAT COUNTRY. ALREADY THEY SPEAK OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CUBAN COLONY OF 40,000 MEN AND WOMEN IN ANGOLA.

10. "AT THE SAME TIME MANY COUNTRIES, PRINCIPALLY OUR OWN, DENOUNCE THE INTERVENTION OF RUSSIA THROUGH THEIR PUPPET COMMUNIST UNCLASSIFIED

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PARTIES. THE DANGER IS KNOWN, AS IS THE MEANS THEY USE, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT WHICH POLITICAL POWER IS BEHIND THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA. YET, WHAT IS DONE? NOTHING. AND AGAIN THERE IS DISILLUSIONMENT.

11. "BECAUSE WHILE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO RESPOND IS WITH THE COUNTRIES AFFECTED, THE UNITED STATES ALSO HAS TO TAKE A GOOD PART OF THE RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE IT CONSTITUTES THE COR-

NERSTONE OF THE WORLD RESISTANCE AGAINST THE SOVIET ADVANCE. NEVERTHELESS, WHAT HAS BEEN THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESISTANCE TO THIS PATIENT, PLANNED AND SUSTAINED PENETRATION? IN SOME CASES IT HAS BEEN VERY GREAT (THE MIDDLE-EAST), IN OTHERS, IN THE MAJORITY, IT HAS BEEN VERY POOR.

12 "THE FREE WORLD WILL HAVE TO BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR NOT TURNING THE ENORMOUS TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IT HAS GIVEN TO THE USSR AND THE MILLIONS OF TONS OF WHEAT INTO NEGOTIABLE POLITICAL INSTRUMENTS.

13. "WASHINGTON IS PRACTICING WITH THE SOVIET UNION A POLICY OF DETENTE WITHOUT ESTABLISHING ANY PRICE WHATSOEVER. WORRIED ABOUT AN EVENTUAL NUCLEAR CONFLICT, IT FORGETS ABOUT THE INEXORABLE ADVANCE OF THE RED ANTS. WE HOPE THAT THE MOMENT NEVER ARRIVES IN WHICH NUCLEAR ACCORD IS NO LONGER NECESSARY BECAUSE ONE OF THE PARTIES HAS DISAPPEARED. IT WOULD ONLY TAKE A FEW HOURS FOR THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO REACH THE ENGLISH CHANNEL, SO GREAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MILITARY POWER OF THOSE COUNTRIES AND NATO. THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF NATO, GENERAL HAIG, HAS CALLED THE PRESENCE OF THE FOLLOWERS OF MOSCOW IN FRANCE, SPAIN, ITALY, AND PORTUGAL A MORTAL DANGER.

14. "ALL OF THIS IS TOO SIGNIFICANT"
"TWO HUNDRED YEARS AFTER ITS BIRTH AS A NATION - ONE OF THE AUTHENTIC GLORIES OF HUMANITY - THE UNITED STATES NOW HAS TO CHOOSE THE ROAD TO FOLLOW IN THE THIRD CENTURY OF ITS ADMIRABLE EXISTENCE. IT CAN BECOME A 'PAPER TIGER' AS MAO SAID, OR ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HISTORY CALLS FOR OF BEING 'THE RESERVE AND GUARDIAN OF THE BEST VALUES OF HUMANITY' ACCORDING TO THE WORDS OF KISSINGER. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING WHAT THE FREE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD DESIRE AND WHAT THOSE WHO ARE LOOKING FOR THEIR FREEDOM ALSO WANT."
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